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THE POLISH REVIEW

VOL. V. JANUARY 18, 1945 No. 2

Polish troops of liberation march through the Dutch city of Breda.

Polish Government Denounces Establishment of a So-Called Provisional Government of Poland by the Lublin Committee of National Liberation

"In the parts of Poland cleared of German occupation there exists neither freedom of speech nor freedom of association or of assembly. The press, radio and all officially recognized political and social organizations are only instruments of the Committee of National Liberation in Lublin. On the other hand, civil authorities of the Underground Polish Republic and Polish Underground Army, which for more than five years carried on the struggle against the German invader, have been dissolved in the area of the activities of the Committee, while members of administration, officers and other ranks are being imprisoned, disarmed and deported, often together with their families.

"Under existing conditions the Polish nation has no means to express its will and to manifest its disapproval of the new act of lawlessness on the part of the Lublin Committee which now declared itself to be the Provisional Government. Administration of the territories cleared of German occupation is in the hands of a party which never played an important part in Polish political life, namely: of the Polish Workers Party, acting under various names. This Party was formed by the Comintern as late as the winter of 1941-2 to replace the Polish Communist Party, which the Comintern dissolved in 1937. In the early part of 1944 this Party appointed the so-called National Council, composed of 30 persons whose names have never been made public. Last July this anonymous council assumed the prerogatives of a parliamentary body, appointing as its executive organ the so-called Committee of National Liberation. The men and women who are represented on the Committee have hitherto been unknown to the Polish public.

"Administration of Polish territories by the Committee came into being only as the result of the military situation. By taking advantage of this and by cancelling all democratic liberties, the Lublin Committee is introducing a system of police administration together with legal standards and educational principles totally alien to the traditions of Poland and of Western Europe. The territory under the administration of the Committee is in a state of permanent ferment and economic and administrative chaos, due to the incompetence of the administration itself and to the absolute lack of confidence on the part of the general public in its decrees.

"All leaders and all more prominent politicians who remained in the country are carrying on the struggle against the Germans as the Home Council of Ministers and Council of National Unity, on which all principal political parties are represented. They remained at their posts after the epic struggle of the two months rising of the whole people of Warsaw, and they still continue to discharge their duties in close collaboration with the Polish Government.

"The Polish Government protests emphatically against this attempt against the sovereign rights of the Polish nation, made by the Lublin Committee, which has illegally assumed the title of Provisional Government. The Polish Nation will never recognize any authority or any totalitarian forms imposed on Polish national territory and will not cease to stand for the genuine independence of Poland. Polish peasants, workers and intellectuals are carrying on the struggle against the German invader at home and abroad. The direction of this struggle rests in the hands of the Polish Government. This Government is recognized as the legal representative of the Polish Republic by the United Nations, by countries associated in this war and by neutral states. After clearing the whole territory of German occupation and after evacuation of all foreign armed forces from Poland, the Polish people will be able, in free and democratic elections, to choose a political system for their country and to elect a Government in accordance with their own will."

London, January 1, 1945

THE POLISH REVIEW

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POLISH-RUSSIAN DEADLOCK*

FIVE UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO FIND A WAY OUT

by CASIMIR SMOGORZEWSKI

REPEATED, but so far unsuccessful, attempts to reach an agreement on Polish-Soviet relations marked the year 1944.

The first attempt was made by the Polish Government in London. On January 5, a day after the advance patrols of the Red Army had crossed the Polish-Soviet frontier, the Polish Government expressed the hope that the Soviet Government would respect the rights and interests of the Polish Republic and its citizens. It said that it considered the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries and close collaboration of the Polish underground Home Army with the Soviet military authorities "highly desirable."

To this statement the Soviet Government replied on January 11, suggesting that the "émigré" Government was isolated from its people, that it had proved "incapable of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union," and even "incapable of organizing an active struggle against the German invaders in Poland itself." The Union of Polish Patriots in the U.S.S.R. was held up as embodying all those qualities which the Polish Government was said to be lacking. The declaration, however, reiterated earlier Moscow statements that the Soviet Government stood for "the re-establishment of a strong and independent Poland," though adding that such a Poland must have an eastern frontier which would pass "approximately along the so-called Curzon Line." In the west, however, Poland's border had to be extended "through the incorporation in Poland of ancient Polish lands previously wrested by Germany."

On January 15 the Polish Government replied that in order to safeguard the solidarity of the United Nations it considered it to be preferable to refrain from further public discussions; it reaffirmed its "sincere desire for a Polish-Soviet agreement on terms which would be just and acceptable to both sides," and suggested that "all outstanding questions" should be discussed between the two countries.

To that offer the Soviet Government replied on January 17 that it could not enter into "official negotiations" with the "present" Polish Government.

The second attempt to find a way out of the Soviet-Polish deadlock was made by Mr. Churchill at the end of January, when he sent a letter to Marshal Stalin asking him to consider the situation.

On February 4 Marshal Stalin's reply was handed to the British Ambassador in Moscow. In his letter Marshal Stalin asked for: (1) recognition of the Curzon Line as the basis for frontier discussion; (2) an immediate call by the Polish Government on the underground movement to co-operate fully with the advancing Soviet forces; (3) the dropping of "outspoken anti-Soviet elements" from the Polish Government and changes in the leadership of the Polish forces.

Having consulted the Polish Government, Mr. Churchill replied that: (1) the Polish Government was of the opinion that the question of Poland's frontiers should be left for settlement till after the war, but it suggested the establishment of a temporary line of demarcation for the Polish and Soviet administration for the duration of the war, with the towns of Wilno and Lwów, however, remaining on the Polish side; (2) as for the instructions to the underground Home Army to co-operate with the Soviet forces, the Polish Government had of its own accord given such instructions two months previously; (3) as to the demand that General Sosnkowski, the C.-in-C., and two Ministers should be dismissed, the Polish Government hoped that the Soviet Government would not press the matter.

Marshal Stalin's observations were received by Mr. Churchill at the beginning of March, but they did not mark any progress in the matter.

At the beginning of June M. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, the Polish Prime Minister, arrived in Washington to consult President Roosevelt. He brought with him a plan for a Polish-Soviet agreement. Mr. Roosevelt, it is understood, said that the U.S. Administration saw eye to eye with Britain in these matters. Shortly after both President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill are said to have asked Marshal Stalin to invite M. Mikolajczyk to Moscow and try to reach with him an agreement in direct conversations.

The Polish Prime Minister, accompanied by M. Tadeusz Romer, the Foreign Minister, and Professor Stanislaw Grabski, Speaker of the Polish National Council in London,

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* From "Free Europe," December 15, 1944, London.

FIRST MEETING OF THE NEW POLISH GOVERNMENT IN LONDON. Seated is Prime Minister Tomasz Arciszewski. Standing from left: S. Sopicki, Minister of Reconstruction; J. Kwapinski, Minister of Industry, Commerce and Shipping; A. Tarnowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs; A. Pragier, Minister of Information; A. Romer, Secretary General to the Cabinet; Z. Berezowski, Minister of the Interior; W. Folkierski, Minister of Preparatory Work concerned with the Peace Conference; and K. Kusnierz, Minister of Justice.

POLISH-RUSSIAN DEADLOCK

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arrived in Moscow on July 31. However, on July 22, it was announced that the underground Polish National Home Council (*Krajowa Rada Narodowa*), presided over by M. Boleslaw Bierut, had appointed a Polish Committee of National Liberation (*Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego*) under M. Edward Osóbka-Morawski. The Home Council assumed supreme authority over the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. and appointed General Michal Rola-Zymierski as C.-in-C. The Committee of Liberation denounced in a manifesto the "émigré" Government and its agency in Poland as "an illegal and self-styled authority." On July 26 the Soviet Government signed with the Committee an agreement on relations between the Polish administration and the Russian High Command in liberated Poland.

These *faits accomplis* cast a shadow over M. Mikolajczyk's mission. He was presented with a new demand, namely, immediately to abrogate the "Fascist" constitution of April 23, 1935, and to reintroduce that of March 17, 1921. The Polish Prime Minister refused to be drawn into discussion on the merits of the 1921 Constitution and the shortcomings of the one of 1935. None of the four parties represented in the Polish Government (National, Christian-Democratic, Peasant and Socialist) wished to uphold the present Constitution, but they all maintained that changes could be made only by a freely elected Constitutional Assembly. Thus the third attempt to reach agreement failed, and M. Mikolajczyk returned to London.

On August 31 M. Mikolajczyk sent to Marshal Stalin new proposals stating that the four political parties represented in his government were ready to collaborate with the Polish Workers' Party—the Communists who created the National Home Council and the Committee of Liberation.

No reply was given to these proposals, but at the beginning of October, shortly after the arrival in Moscow of Mr. Churchill, M. Mikolajczyk and MM. Romer and Grabski were invited to join the talks. On October 13 Marshal Stalin again asked for an immediate acceptance of the Curzon Line as Poland's eastern frontier and that the new Polish Government which would take over the administration of the territories west of the Curzon Line should be the result of a fusion of the London Government and the Liberation Committee of Lublin.

M. Mikolajczyk did not have authority to sign an agreement on these terms. He could negotiate only within the terms of reference of the memorandum voted unanimously at the end of August by the Polish Government and approved by the underground Polish Council of National Unity (*Rada Jednosci Narodowej*), representing the four main political parties. Under that memorandum M. Mikolajczyk could accept a temporary demarcation line between the Polish and Soviet administrations, while the question of Poland's final

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Swedish Actress Describes Battle of Warsaw

Elna Gistedt, well-known dramatic and film actress and light opera singer of Swedish origin who was a favorite of pre-war Polish audiences, lived through half of last summer's Warsaw Insurrection, went through the Pruszkow Concentration Camp and later escaped to Sweden. Recently she told the Swedish press of her experiences. Here is a summary of her account of the historic second Battle of Warsaw during World War II.

Soldier of the Polish Home Army interrogated by German officers after the fall of Warsaw, October, 1944.

MISS GISTEDT left Warsaw on the 8th of September, and remained at suburban Lesna Podkowa until the middle of November. There she received news of Warsaw's fate from fleeing inhabitants of the capital.

After the capitulation, the Germans deported the population not only of the capital proper, but also of the western suburbs, Bielany, Wola and Ochota. Only Okecie remains partially inhabited. After the population had left, the Germans destroyed many important buildings that had survived the insurrection intact, or were only slightly damaged during the 63-day battle: the Branicki Palace, the former British Embassy, where Miss Gistedt had operated a restaurant during the war, was destroyed November 2. The Germans also intended to dynamite the barracks still used by the Wehrmacht. The monument of Copernicus no longer exists. Those of Poniatowski and Mickiewicz still stand, but it is feared that they will also soon be destroyed by the Germans.

On September 10, three days before the Russians entered Praga on the eastern bank of the Vistula, the Germans deported the majority of its inhabitants. Some were sent to Oranienburg, while the women went to Ravensbrueck. The fate of the majority is unknown.

Dr. Bartoszewski of the Polish Red Cross examines the quality of bread distributed to Warsaw's starving population.

Polish military and civilian losses in Warsaw are placed at 300,000 killed, and 500,000 deported to the Reich. The number of women who died, and particularly of children, fed camomile for lack of milk, who died from wounds and lack of medical supplies, greatly surpassed even the number of persons killed. Many Warsovians were killed by bombs dropped from the air, for, expecting Allied aid, they would run out into the streets each time that planes appeared, but almost always these turned out to be German.

Any temporarily milder treatment accorded these Poles by the Germans neither stirred them nor blinded them to reality. The Poles are still the most bitter enemies of the Germans, and anti-communist as well, for even now amid their greatest poverty and hardship their spirit has not faltered. The failure of the insurrection has caused great bitterness toward the Russians, and disillusionment as far as England is concerned, while at the same time the Poles' feelings of pro-Americanism have increased greatly because of the great aerial armada of American bombers that brought Warsaw the only real aid it received from the outside world during the entire 63 days of battle. Warsaw never lost its strong, almost mystic faith in ultimate victory for the Allies and justice for Poland.

The Germans continue their scorched earth policy. They intended to slaughter all cattle in a 40-mile strip along the front in Poland by December 12th, leaving inhabitants of the overcrowded villages near Warsaw completely without meat

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Germans Break Terms Under Which General Bor Surrendered

Reliable Swiss sources report that German authorities have broken the terms of capitulation signed by them and by General Bor-Komorowski that ended the 63-day Battle of Warsaw on October 3, 1944.

The Germans are sending Polish women and young boys and girls to forced labor on German farms from the prisoner-of-war stalags where they have been held up to the present.

According to the capitulation terms both Polish women and youths participating in the insurrection were to have full rights as war prisoners.

Meanwhile the German occupation press reports that Hitler has introduced a special badge for units of the Wehrmacht that took part in the Warsaw Battle. The badge called "*Warschauschild*" is an expression of the importance attached by Hitler to the great Polish uprising.

SWEDISH ACTRESS DESCRIBES BATTLE OF WARSAW

(*Continued from page* 5)

or dairy products, and the children without milk.

A number of famous Polish actors perished during the insurrection: Maria Przybylko-Potocka was killed by the explosion of a hand grenade, Marjusz Maszynski was murdered by the Germans, Jozef Orwid by the explosion of a German tank in Theatre Square during the second week of August that killed 300 persons. Jozef Sliwicki died of a heart attack. Jerzy Jaszczolt-Sulima, a Home Army officer, fell in combat and is buried at the corner of Jasna and Zlota Streets.

The Germans were aware of preparations for the uprising, warned by their numerous Volksdeutsche and other Axis spies. At the end of July they made mass arrests. They claimed that they had discovered Polish underground headquarters in Mazowiecka Street which they immediately surrounded, arresting several score and shooting 30 persons. Among the latter was the son of the writer Juliusz-Kaden-Bandrowski.

On the 25th of July, 4,000 Germans stationed in the students' house on Narutowicz Square concentrated 4,000 tanks there, taken from the Saski and Botanical Gardens. Towards the end of July the Germans began buying up as much of all sorts of provisions as possible. On August 1st, a German officer warned a saleswoman, a friend of Miss Gistedt, not to leave her house after the 14th. The Vistula bridges, mined in July, each had only one traffic lane in use. The inhabitants of Warsaw believed that these German preparations were being made to stop the Red Army or for the forced evacuation of the city, and estimated that the battle would last only five days at the most.

The outbreak of the insurrection caught Miss Gistedt in the Branicki Palace, that became the center of "no-man's-land" between the Germans on Jerusalem Avenue and the Polish barricades that crossed Nowy Swiat Street at the head of Chmielna and Pieracka Streets. Later she worked at a first aid station in Smolna Street. The Russians had bombed and partially damaged her restaurant on July 17th.

The Germans transferred all the inhabitants of Smolna Street to the National Museum as hostages, but Miss Gistedt escaped and remained at her work, going all about the city during the insurrection, visiting temporary hospitals, often crossing embattled Szpitalna, Warecka and Nowy Swiat Streets. She personally observed the battle for the Holy Cross Church that took place at the end of August, during which the Germans saved themselves by retreating to the University, and the battle for the Bank of National Economy on September 6. The Germans often used tanks, nick-named "Bellowing Cows" by the Poles, firing incendiary shells and machine-gunning the Polish positions from airplanes.

The great aerial bombardments began on August 5th when 30 persons were killed and more than a hundred injured in a shelter on Kredytowa Street. Boys of 14 and 15 formed anti-tank squads, each composed of four boys, so efficient that the Germans feared to send their tanks into narrow streets. Each house defended by the Germans held Polish hostages. Gestapo men whose function was to keep an eye on the Wehrmacht, killed all German soldiers who wished to surrender, for the Wehrmacht's enthusiasm was low and it greatly feared the Poles. Each building occupied by the Germans had wells and auxiliary electrical power stations prepared in advance for the time when the central stations might no longer function. All Germans preferred battles on the front to street fights with the Poles. There were some who never ventured out of their shelters during the entire two months, but in general Warsaw tried to lead as normal a life as possible under the bombardment of artillery and aircraft. In the beginning, Poles went about without taking any special precautions, but many fell and life began more and more to take on a subterranean character. Sidewalks disappeared—torn up by teen-age boys for barricades. Young boys and girls acted as couriers and mail and newspaper distributors.

Divine services were celebrated in cellars, where marriages were also solemnized. During the first period of the uprising, fallen heroes were laid to rest with full ceremonies in those cellar hideouts.

On the 9th of August, Miss Gistedt attended a concert at the Conservatory given by Stanislaw Wasiel, Karolina Lubienska and "Kalma" (a new singer, the pupil of Adam Didur). Between August 5th and September 5th, the stores and shops of Warsaw were partially open. One could most frequently purchase meat from horses killed in the fighting at $8 to $31.50 a pound at the pre-war rate of exchange, depending on the relative quiet of the section. Potatoes cost $8 a pound. Children too young to fight or too young for auxiliary services picked vegetables and fruits in kitchen gardens along the Powisle district near the river, bringing them into the center of the city.

The police also functioned, issuing travel passes that let one go about the city, through the various barricades, for the Poles guarding them were most strict, fearing German counter-spies.

The famine was indescribable. Only sugar was in abundance. At the end, all Warsaw lived on sugared water, when water was obtainable. Miraculously, there were no epidemics, save one of dysentery at the end of August that lasted three to five days.

Economy in Warsaw was most upset during the insurrection. The American paper dollar in secret circulation rose in value on the eve of the insurrection from 200 zlotys ($38) to 500 zlotys ($96), and dropped to 180 zlotys ($34) after the capitulation. The price of butter before the uprising was about $33 a pound (350 zlotys a kilogram), during the fighting it was $47 a pound and after the capitulation in the camps near Warsaw it cost as much as $62 a pound. Sugar in Warsaw was $10 a pound and in Cracow $21. During the insurrection an egg cost $96. All prices are at the pre-war rate of exchange. One woman offered Miss Gistedt a Persian lamb fur coat for a kilogram, 2.2 pounds, of butter.

On September 8th, Miss Gistedt along with 6,000 other Warsovians was deported to Pruszkow. There they had to sleep on a bare cement floor. The sadism of the Germans was frightful. They purposely distributed bread at unexpected times. Only those who happened to be at the place of distribution got any at all. The Germans also distributed surprisingly good soup, but each prisoner was required to bring his own bowl—something that a great majority of them did not possess. Miss Gistedt unscrewed the glass globe of an electric lamp. When she put a cork stopper into the opening, it held enough soup for 10 persons. Their jailers, Gestapo men, and soldiers of the Quisling Russian General Vlasoff excelled in cruelty, but it was easy to buy them off.

People who lived in the camp's vicinity aided the deportees in every way possible, throwing crusts of bread, sausages, etc., over the fence. Nevertheless, Miss Gistedt witnessed, in the course of a single night, the death from starvation of several children and some old people in her barracks alone.

By a ruse, Miss Gistedt was able to rejoin her husband, the Polish industrialist Witold Kiltynowicz, who was assigned to hard labor despite a heart ailment, from which he subsequently died at Lesna Podkowa, several days after her liberation from the Pruszkow Camp. Miss Gistedt reported the fate of a number of Polish artists: Osterwa, Zboinska-Ruszkowska, Wegrzyn, Ada Sari, Jaraczowna, Stanislawa Perzanowska and Chmielski are in Cracow, the latter three having joined the Stary Teatr (Old Theatre). Cwiklinska is in Zakopane where some of the refugees from Lesna Podkowa were supposed to go. Ewa Bandrowska-Turska, who used to sing in New York, is also there. The writers Ossendowski and Goetel live at Milanowek. At various times during the war, actresses Grabowska, Cwiklinska, Gorczynska, Lindorfowna, Romanowna, Barszczewska and Zelwerowiczowa worked at Miss Gistedt's restaurant.

Historic Cracow Must Not Suffer the Fate of Warsaw!

Since the wanton destruction of Warsaw by the Germans, the historic city of Cracow has become doubly important to the Poles.

Latest news from the Eastern front in Europe reveals that the Germans are feverishly throwing up defense barriers around all the eastern approaches to Cracow, in expectation of a momentary Russian offensive against the city.

Pill-boxes and "dragons teeth" are being erected on all crossroads and barbed-wire installations are guarding all the main thoroughfares inside the city. Germans and conscripted Poles are working on fortifications day and night, and Cracow is full of German troops. The Germans expect the Russian drive to be directed toward the Silesian mining fields.

This is ominous news. It looks as if Poland's ancient capital—the town where Copernicus studied, where the Kosciuszko Insurrection began, where Poland's Kings were crowned since time immemorial, where the 16th century Golden Age reached its magnificent zenith—is to go through the agony of glorious Warsaw.

Cracow has not suffered major destruction since the Tartar hordes swept through it in the 13th century. Many of its relics have remained standing for five hundred years and more. Are they to go up in smoke now within a few brief hours of bombardment? Or will they be spared even as Athens, Rome and Paris have been spared?

The people of Poland appeal to the conscience of the civilized world that their beautiful living museum of a city be left intact. Cracow must be declared an open city! Cracow must not be destroyed! The city of living stones must not suffer the fate of Warsaw!

Woodcut by Stephanie Juer-Dretler.

Kazimierz, the old Jewish section of Cracow.

Woodcut by Stephanie Juer-Dretler.

Cracow's ancient market square with St. Mary's Church, the Cloth Hall and the Town Hall tower.

Woodcut by Stephanie Juer-Dretler.

"Hejnal," the hourly trumpet call sounded from the tower of St. Mary's Church in Cracow for more than 600 years.

LIBRARIES IN OLD POLAND

by JOSEPH GRASS

Ex libris of the court poet to King Stefan Batory, 16th century. From the Library of the Gniezno Cathedral Chapter.

A LOVE of books is a Polish national trait. A library of his own is the ambition of every Polish student, and foreigners travelling in Poland were often struck by the affection with which their Polish hosts spoke of their great public libraries.

Poland's traditional love of books dates back one thousand years, the first libraries having been founded when Christianity was introduced into Poland in the 10th century. An inventory for the year 1110 of the manuscripts in the Cracow chapter has been preserved for eight and one-half centuries. The oldest library of all was that of the chapter of the then Polish capital, Gniezno, where the first Cathedral School was also founded. In the Middle Ages culture was preserved by the monks—especially the Benedictines and the Cistercians, known for their cultivation of the sciences, their diligent copying of manuscripts, and their monastic libraries. St. John's Church in Torun, still has library cupboards built in the 14th century.

The richest Polish library, that of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, was founded in 1364. An act of 1429 regulated reading hours and the circulation of books. Later a staff librarian was appointed and at the beginning of the 16th century a magnificent Gothic Hall was built to house the collection which grew rapidly by gifts and bequests. In the middle of the 15th century manuscripts brought back by Poles who had taken part in the Councils of Constance and Basle were added. The Renaissance introduced a general taste for books, and libraries were formed in the Royal Castle, in bishops' residences, in the homes of scholars. The Renaissance, and with it the Reformation, also exerted an influence on monastic libraries. And finally came the greatest revolution of all, the spread of printing in Poland.

Book from the Library of King Stefan Batory, 16th century. From the Collection of the Gniezno Cathedral Chapter.

Among the most important libraries of the Renaissance was the Royal Library of Zygmunt I, rebuilt by his son, Zygmunt-August, no whit less impressive than the libraries of other European sovereigns. The number of libraries of Polish magnates also grew: Firley, Laski, Ciolek, Drzewiecki, Jan Tarnowski, Szafraniec were among the better known. Jan Laski purchased the entire library of his teacher, Erasmus of Rotterdam. Enlightened prelates took pride in their own rich collections. When the Academy of Zamosc was founded in 1596, a library was founded by Jan Zamoyski, who bequeathed to it his collection. The counter-reformation also helped the growth of libraries. The clergy engaged in both sides of the religious struggle looked upon books as their best weapons, and ever greater attention was paid to libraries. When the Jesuits came to Poland, they created great libraries, at Braunsberg, Poznan and Wilno. Indeed the library of Wilno College, soon raised to a University, was enriched by a valuable bequest from King Zygmunt-August. This library suffered irreparable losses from the Swedish invasion, and in 1746 fire destroyed a large part of its collection. However, it endured up to the abolition of the Jesuit Order in 1773.

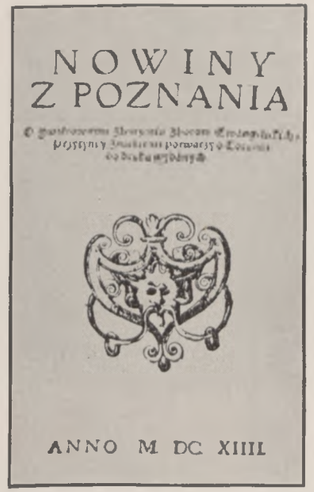
This "golden age" of culture, when libraries flourished, was followed by a period of stagnation. The Cossack and Muscovite wars, the Swedish invasions, wrought a terrible destruction of Polish books. Ecclesiastical and monastic collections from Western Poland and Pomorze, as well as the University Library at Wilno were removed to Sweden, and only partially returned after the Peace of Oliwa in 1660. Added to war and fire was the general decline of learning in Europe. However, even at this time, new libraries sprang up here and there in Poland. King Jan Sobieski, who saved Europe at Vienna, had a large and valuable library at Zolkiew. Jan Wielopolski and the Wolski family also had fine collections of books. The library of the old Jesuit College at Lwow was rebuilt. In 1661 the College was raised to University rank by King Jan Kazimierz.

Fifteenth century book cover from the Czartoryski Library in Cracow.

The early 18th century saw a book renaissance. In Poland, as in the West, book collecting again became popular. In Warsaw the future bishop of Kiev, Jozef Andrzej Zaluski, and his brother Andrzej Stanislaw, Bishop of Cracow, founded the first public library in Poland, and at that time the only national library in Europe. The Polish Diet passed a law by which this library was to receive free a copy of all books printed in the royal printshops. The Zaluski Library reached the imposing total of 12,000 manuscripts and more than 300,000 printed books. After Jozef Zaluski's death in 1774, King Stanislaw-August placed it under the protection of the Commission of National Education, the first such body in Poland, which made many useful reforms of libraries in primary and secondary schools and of the Zaluski Public Library in Warsaw.

The work of Zaluski combined with the wave of intellectual and scientific activity had a decisive influence on the history of Polish libraries. Existing libraries were reorganized and the cataloguing and sorting of books was begun. In addition to the libraries of the Benedictine, Cistercian and Jesuit orders, the Piarists founded their own libraries, among the most important being that of the *Collegium Nobilium* in Warsaw. The abolition of the Jesuit order caused their libraries to be acquired by schools or seminaries; a large section of the Jesuit college collection in Warsaw was added to the Zaluski Library.

The last King of Poland, Stanislaw-August Poniatowski, a great patron of the arts and sciences, collected a choice library of some 20,000 volumes with fine bindings and housed it in a splendid gallery of the Royal Palace in Warsaw, which included 100,000 engravings, etchings and numismatics. This gallery was made available to large numbers of scientists and scholars. In this way the King set a fashion for the magnates of his day. Soon arose rich libraries: those of Czartoryski at Pulawy and Sieniawa, of Tadeusz Czacki at Poryck, of Wisniowiecki at Wisniowiec, of Rzewuski at Podhorce. A large section of Polish society was seized with the obsession of collecting, and enthusiastically followed the progress of science in the late 18th century. The development of printing obliged the owners of libraries to limit themselves to some special branch of learning. Thus some collections consisted of legal works, others of historical, still others of Oriental writings. The Polish collections of this period have a very individual character, reflecting the spheres of interest of their creators.



"Nowiny z Poznania" (News From Poznan), Polish newspaper of 1614. From the Krasinski Library in Warsaw.

But Poland's loss of independence interrupted the work of liaison between all the great libraries of Poland protected by the State. At first, rich and public-spirited Poles sought to maintain the tradition of the Polish book by founding large private libraries to preserve Polish culture for posterity. Thus, the Baworowski, Czarniecki, Dzialynski, Ossolinski, Potocki, Przezdziecki, Sanguszko, Raczynski, Krasinski and Zamoyski families collected books, manuscripts, documents and relics, and in free Poland turned them over to the public. But when the crushing of the Uprising in 1830 put an end to this hope, they transferred their collections abroad—to Paris and to Rapperswil, Switzerland—to await the rebirth of Poland as an independent state. The Ossolinski Library in Lwow and the Jagiellonian library in Cracow proved more fortunate. Under the milder Austrian occupation, they served as national Polish libraries and received numerous gifts from private book collections, publishers and authors. But libraries under the Russian and Prussian occupations had a hard time indeed. The constant butt of the governments, which tried to suppress them, they engaged in a stubborn battle with the authorities and finally took their work underground furnishing all classes of society, urban and rural, with books to spread culture and prevent denationalization. Not only did the occupants persecute Polish libraries, they deliberately destroyed them, shipping hundreds of thousands of books out of Poland. Several months after the third partition of Poland in 1795, the world-famous Zaluski Library was liquidated. 230,000 rare manuscripts, incunabulae and printed volumes were thrown helter skelter into packing cases, many of the large books being cut down to fit the cases, and sent to St. Petersburg. After the unsuccessful Insurrection of 1831, the University libraries and the collections of the Warsaw Society of Friends of

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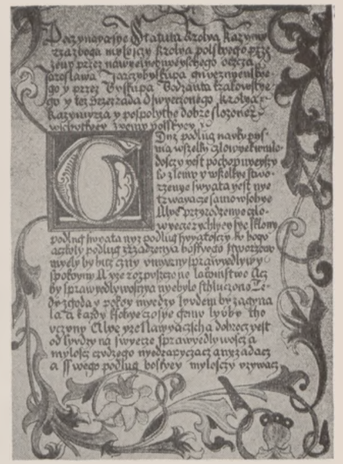


Fifteenth century Statutes of Wislica and Piotrkow. Tarnowski Library in Dzikow

Dzieduszycki Library in Lwow.

Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation Exemplified in the Ukrainian Institute of Arts and Sciences in Warsaw

by KAROL ROSNOWSKI

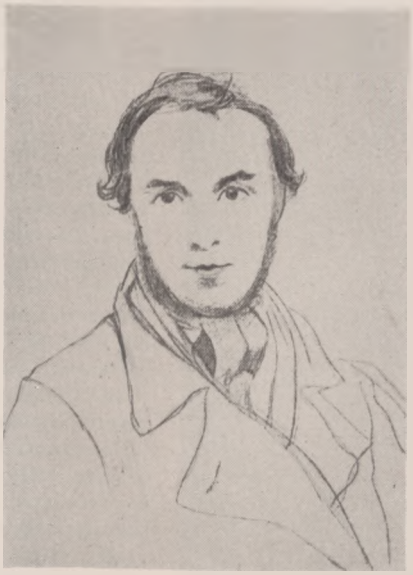
AMONG the numerous cultural and scientific institutions destroyed during the Warsaw insurrection of August 1944, a probable casualty was the Ukrainian Institute of Arts and Sciences, one of the most flourishing centers of Ukrainian learning in Europe. The Institute was located in one of the capital's modern sections on Sluzewska Street, a beautiful and quiet avenue leading to the new buildings of the Ministry of War. This district was thoroughly devastated during the siege of Warsaw in 1939 and once again during the Uprising in 1944. So there is very little hope that the Institute, its rich library and the stacks filled with its valuable publications escaped the fate of Warsaw's other cultural institutions.

The Ukrainian Institute of Arts and Sciences was founded in February, 1930, by the Polish Government which provided it with a rather munificent yearly subsidy of 100,000 zlotys. The aim of the Institute was to promote studies in Ukrainian life, history and culture, and to prepare young Ukrainian scholars for scientific research and study.

To attain these goals the Institute engaged in an extensive publishing activity, conducted seminars for the regular students and organized numerous public lectures. In the nine years of its existence the Institute published over 60 volumes of studies in various fields of science, and with the aid of fellowships trained several able research workers. The publications of the Institute, distinguished by their scientific and literary as well as graphic value, brought it wide recognition among Ukrainians throughout the world. The Institute has also collected a fine library of works in various European languages devoted to Ukrainian history and culture.

The success of the Institute was due to the efforts of its able officers: director Alexander Lototsky, distinguished scholar and one time Minister of Education of the Ukrainian National Republic in Kiev; secretary Professor Roman Smal-Stotsky, prominent linguist; and the Chairmen of the various sections. Among the collaborators of the Institute were distinguished historians (Professors: Dmytro Doroshenko, Myron Korduba, Vasyl Bidnov—all from the University of Warsaw), historians of literature (Stepan Smal-Stotsky, Vasyl Simovych, Myhailo Voznyak, Pavlo Zaitsev, Bohdan Lepky — the latter also a noted poet), historians of art (D. Antonovych, V. Sichynsky), philosophers (Dmytro Chyzevsky), linguists (Ivan Zilynsky), educators (S. Siropolko), jurists (A. Yakovliv), economists (V. Sadovsky), etc.

The publishing activity of the Institute was divided among its numerous sections and commissions. The most prolific of these were the Historical Section which published 15 volumes of studies and the Section of Economics and Statistics which produced 11 volumes. The achievements of other sections were as follows; philology—7 volumes, law—5 volumes, theology—4 volumes, history of literature, pedagogy and philosophy—1 volume each. In addition the Institute published 5 volumes of memoirs and several volumes of literary works which will be discussed later.



Taras Shevchenko, self portrait in crayon, 1845.

"Mazeppa" title-page. Published by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, 1938.

Hetman Ivan Mazeppa. A contemporary portrait.

Among the works published by the Historical Section mention must be made of a two-volume textbook of Ukrainian history by Professor D. Doroshenko. This was the first adequate summary of recent research in Ukrainian history written from the Ukrainian national point of view since the publication of M. Hrushevsky's "Outline of Ukrainian History" several decades ago. Despite the alleged severity of Polish censorship, about which some Ukrainian journalists in this country are inclined to complain, the book was so thoroughly national in spirit that it was immediately translated and published in English by the Ukrainian nationalistic organizations in Canada.

The other historical publications of lasting value are the Institute's studies devoted to two famous 17th century Ukrainian leaders: hetman Ivan Mazeppa and hetman Pylyp Orlyk. Very valuable also are two historical works published in Polish: a study of the Ukrainian policy of Prince Adam Czartoryski, famous Polish statesman of the 19th century, by Professor M. Handelsman, and a history of the Ukrainian problem as an issue of international politics by L. Wasilewski, the most distinguished Polish student of nationalistic movements.

Among the works in economics and statistics the studies of various authors on the population, natural resources, industry and economic problems of the Soviet Ukraine may

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General Eisenhower Visits Polish Armored Division

General Dwight D. Eisenhower and General Stanislaw Maczek meet Polish officers of the Polish Armored Division on the Western Front.

General Eisenhower inspects a battle-scarred Polish tank. General Maczek, commander of the Polish Armored Division, points out a shell hole.

THE LASKOWA APARTMENT

(From "Story of a Secret State" by Jan Karski*)

DURING my Cracow existence, my luck followed a consistent pattern. Those with whom I lived were arrested by the Gestapo while I managed to get away. At this stage I took lodgings in one of the co-operative houses tolerated by the Germans, and found employment there as a clerk and librarian. My radio was placed in a room in the apartment of an old woman. I was able to rent the room under the pretense that I was pursuing a side line as a picture dealer and needed the room for storage and to interview my clients.

Tadeusz Kilec was the manager of the co-operative. I used to go to high school with him and had the utmost confidence that, even if he were not a member of the Underground, he would not betray me. He was an unusual person, brilliant and generous. He pursued his beliefs with rare intensity and put them into practice with unselfish consistency and vigor.

In April he asked for and received permission to visit his family in Southern Poland. A few days after he left, news came to us that he had been arrested in Lublin with three other men. The four had been caught loosening the screws in the railroad tracks. A transport of arms and food was due the next day from Russia to the Third Reich and they were attempting to blow it up.

Kilec had been the leader of one of the small, loose, underground groups. He and his men were typical victims of independent and comparatively unscientific working methods. They were publicly hanged in the market place of Lublin. Their bodies were left on the gallows for two days and two nights as an example to the populace. Posters informed the citizens of Lublin that they had been Polish bandits who had attacked German officials for the purpose of robbing them. Similar punishment would be dealt out to all those who fought against the German community, the poster added, thus making the truth obvious.

The Gestapo came to the co-operative, ransacked the entire house, and questioned the inhabitants. Notice was immediately brought to me in my rooms in a section of the co-operative three doors away. I left most of my possessions behind, skipped out at once, and never returned.

The fate of my good friends Kilec and his comrades depressed me. I had very little money and the organization was in a tight corner. Changing my identity again and securing new papers irked me. In these dispiriting circumstances, a woman whom I knew took me in. She was known as Laskowa, and was the wife of a former Polish diplomat who was in the Polish army. Immediately before the war, they had been abroad with their son, Jasio. Sensing that war was imminent, they returned to Poland to face it and do their share. Like many others, the war had deprived her of nearly all her possessions.

She was a woman of about forty, but, still youthful in appearance, admitted to being only twenty-eight. Anyone who contradicted her or joked about her age did so at his own risk, for she was capable of delivering a fearful tongue-lashing when she was provoked. She had a five-room apartment and served meals for paying guests in the large dining room. She also made a little money by taking care of a small garden and by selling her few remaining possessions. Most of this revenue was earned by indefatigable labor and it went largely toward the care of her five-year-old boy.

Outside of her maternal passion—the most unadjusted to circumstances that I have ever seen—she was efficient, clever, and a fervid worker. Her apartment, because of the fact that she served dinners and therefore the constant flow of people attracted no suspicion, had become a veritable clearing-house for the Underground. Nearly every phase of conspiratorial work was carried on there, often simultaneously.

* *Story of a Secret State.* By Jan Karski. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. 1944. 391 pp. $3.00

What Leading U. S. Book Critics Think of Karski's "Story of a Secret State"

"Combines a touch of Tolstoy, a hint of Proust and a murder that would challenge Hitchcock at his best. . . . The "Story of a Secret State" redescribes for our age the terrible vision of man's descent into the Inferno. . . . Because of its literary power, there is real danger that the "Story of a Secret State" may be read as fiction instead of fact, or propaganda instead of scrupulous reporting. We can ill afford to misunderstand its purpose."

—EDWARD WHITING FOX
in "The New York Times Book Review."

"In this eloquent, absorbing book Karski has written more than his personal history, or the story of a secret state, or one of the finest books to emerge from World War II. He has told the heroic saga of a nation. . . . A masterly narrative."

—FREDERICK GRUIN
in "The Saturday Review of Literature."

"One of the most thrilling books of its sort produced by the Second German War Against Mankind. . . . There are at least two chapters in Karski's record that, once read, it will be difficult to forget—though the reader, I dare say, will, for the sake of his own peace of mind, desire passionately to forget them. . . . Told with extraordinary vigor, animation and sincerity."

—CLIFTON FADIMAN
in "The-Book-of-the-Month Club News."

"The story of this secret state is one of the most exciting and one of the most interesting stories of this war. . . . Compared to this factual report of intrigue and horror and bravery the Bulldog Drummond novels of international derring-do seem as pale and unreal as the scholarly romances of our childhood in which Christians were thrown to the lions in a Roman arena. This is our world, and these are our nightmares. If you want political emotions as contemporary as a B-29 or a bazooka, this is your book."

—JOSEPH BARNES in "The New York Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review."

"When a book is at once a great political document, a paean to man's ineradicable love of freedom, a first rate adventure story, and a horrifying indictment of brutality and lust, you have something. Jan Karski's Story of a Secret State is all of these things."

—JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
in "Harper's Magazine."

Frequent visitors to Laskowa's apartment were Cyna, the journalist and Socialist leader with whom I had stayed when I came to Cracow on my return from France, and Kara, the chief-of-staff for the district. Their work required the closest co-operation between them, and they met here often. They loaned each other money to pay for material and labor and they borrowed men from each other for the performance of special tasks. If a printer in the military unit were arrested the Socialists would supply the army with another. If the Socialists had a plan for an attack on a train or a garrison or had been assigned by the Civil Directorate to execute a sentence on a German official, they borrowed from the army whatever necessary men were obtainable from their own ranks.

My work was in the press bureau of the military unit and required active contact with both of them. Toward Easter of 1941, we began to suspect that our section was in serious danger. One of our distributors was arrested. Some of the liaison women reported that they were being followed and watched. Two of our "liaison spots" (places where underground press, money, arms, and other material was stored and called for) were raided and, although no members were caught, the material loss was not negligible. It was apparent that either a provocateur had crept into the organization or that the Gestapo was close at our heels. The order of

(*Please turn to page* 13)

Jan Karski Speaks for Underground Poland

by **JOSEF ISRAELS II**

WHEN Jan Karski finally left Poland for England and the United States, not to return until his country is free again, it was not as a refugee from the Nazi terror but as the official accredited envoy of a secret state, an underground nation operating incredibly in the face of oppression with an efficiency and detail probably beyond that of any of the other underground organizations in German-occupied territory. Karski has told his adventures as a small but important unit in Poland's underground in his book, "The Story of a Secret State," which is a January Book-of-the-Month Club Selection and already a best-seller under the Houghton Mifflin imprint.

In public appearances, visits to officials of Allied nations and in lectures from one end of the United States to the other, Karski has been carrying out his mission from Underground Poland to let the world know what has gone on within those tortured borders since Warsaw and all Poland fell into Nazi hands in 1939. He has told the world that in spite of German torture, sadism, political and physical oppression Poland and the Polish spirit have remained alive, a vivid flame burning hot and clear far under the ashes wich are all that remains of most of visible Poland.

Karski served as underground courier carrying messages from the intricate organization of the Secret State within Poland to the leaders in exile, first in France and later in England. After several round trips through complicated but highly organized escape routes, he was seized by the Nazis in a border town and lived through weeks of skilful torture, some of it so unbearable that this brave man cut his own wrists and tried to commit suicide. Yet Underground Poland never forgot. Its agents rescued Karski from his hospital bed and saw to it that he was made well and sent on one final mission, this time carrying no messages except the indelible brain pictures he retains of what he saw within Poland. Of his visit to a death camp near Lublin where he saw the mass murder of 5,000 men, women and children. Of a trip to the Warsaw ghetto where Hitler youths sniped at Jews as they would at birds or wood ducks. Of a Poland tortured and suffering yet always honorable and virtually without traitors, for the Polish underground recognized no such creation as the Quisling. Either a Pole was an active helper of the Secret State or he was its enemy—a Nazi sympathizer. In conquered Poland there could be no middle ground and by the time Karski left Poland to carry his story to friends overseas he knew too much of the underground intricacies and was himself too well known to the Germans to be of further service.

Karski is still young, distinguished, cultured. He starts his book with a description of a gay party in Warsaw on the eve of the German invasion. Called to his post as an officer in the Polish Army, it was only a matter of days before the shattered remains of Poland's military might were fleeing before the enemy.

His story of the Secret State is one of the most exciting and interesting of the war. For the first time, within the limits of military security, Karski tells how Poland—the real Poland—was ruled from the inside, how a secret Parliament, courts, financial and propaganda bureaus, and all the other machinery of an ordinary government were set up and skilfully carried on without Nazi detection. All the details of organization were cared for. A forgery bureau staffed by experts could prepare passports and other identity papers as needed. Guides were always available to take couriers through the difficult mountain passes of the border. Secret radio stations maintained communication with London and Paris. One time an underground bond issue was even floated to keep the Secret State in operation.

Jan Karski.

Some of Karski's adventures have the unreal atmosphere of a spy novel of the E. Phillips Oppenheim type. Only the stern realization of the utter and bitter truth of what he has to say can make us realize that this brave Pole moving through a shadow world of death and horror is one of the very few who have lived to tell us what it means to live in such a world. He saw the Polish underground enlist men and women from all ages and from all social and financial groups. No truer democracy ever existed. He makes it clear that workers and farmers, Jews, aristocrats, rich and poor and Poland's neighbors in Hungary and Czechoslovakia have learned a lot about working together under the whiplash of Nazi oppression. It seems reasonable to agree with Jan Karski that this knowledge probably offers considerable hope for a cooperative future Europe.

One book reviewer has described "The Story of a Secret State" as "a cry from the abyss." It is more than that. It is a tribute and a record well deserved to the thousands of suffering, eternally brave Poles who have made up the Secret State and kept the Polish flame alive in an evil Nazi world.

THE LASKOWA APARTMENT

(*Continued from page* 12)

"no contact upward" was issued for the entire district, but was, unfortunately, too late.

One day Cyna arrived at the apartment, visibly upset. Kara had failed to arrive at an appointment they had made for more than an hour ago near the river. Cyna walked up and down the room, smoking furiously, explaining the event to

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THE LASKOWA APARTMENT

(*Continued from page* 13)

us, conjecturing and reasoning out loud. At length he flung away his cigarette nervously and announced: "I am going over to Kara's place and see what I can find out."

Laskowa begged him not to go.

"Don't take the chance," she said, "the risk is too great. If we wait a while and have a little patience, the situation will clear up. . . ."

"Things may get worse if we wait," Cyna argued, "and even if the Gestapo is on our tracks, they certainly won t find Kara's place. I am going. I'll be back in less than two hours."

Cyna never came back. When the two hours were up, Laskowa and I set to work, packing all the compromising material we could and burning the rest. We placed the unburnt material in a suitcase and covered it with vegetables. Then we called in the maid, who naturally knew all the secrets of the house. Laskowa explained that we had to leave. Jasio would be in her care. Each day at 8 a.m., and at four-hour intervals afterwards, she was to take a large china vase and place it on the window sill where it could be seen from the street. If nothing of any consequence had happened, she was to remove the vase after five minutes. If the Gestapo were there, the vase would either not appear at all, or would remain on the sill as long as the house was dangerous.

Laskowa left the house first with the suitcase. I joined her at a street corner a few minutes later and we walked about together for hours trying to decide where to spend the night and where to hide the dynamite-laden suitcase. Laskowa's suggestions and opinions were prudent and sagacious. She did not wish to imperil others. She refused to go to stay with any of her friends or visit any of the meeting places, for she knew she would be highly suspect. As for the suitcase, she came up with a simple, shrewd plan. We would leave it at the checkroom of the railroad station for two days and then send for it, picking out the oldest and most decrepit porter to obtain it for us. If the Germans searched it, he would be the only one caught. They would probably release him and if not—well, one more old man would simply have to be sacrificed for the cause.

Then, after much careful selection and glancing about to see if we were being trailed, we decided to take a room in a small, dingy hotel of very bad repute. The Germans encouraged places like these as part of their campaign to demoralize the populace, particularly the youth. We both tried to behave inconspicuously in the lobby and pretended not to notice the shady-looking inmates. After I had paid for the room, we walked to the staircase and I fancied Laskowa was depressed by our sordid surroundings. I glanced at her with an expression of concern. She took my arm, nudged me in the ribs, and said laughingly: "Let's go."

She kept up her spirits remarkably during the next two days, while I went out to check on the vase and learn the news. The vase appeared and disappeared regularly. Cautiously, I got back into contact with the organization and gradually learned the appalling details of the misfortune that had occurred.

The whole thing had begun with the arrest of a liaison man from Silesia. Under indescribable torture, he disclosed the addresses of our meeting places. We were under surveillance for a long period during which no arrests were made. In this way, they discovered the residence of Kara. Fortunately, he had not visited the apartment of Laskowa since the surveillance had begun, and that was how we had been saved.

The day before Cyna had been supposed to meet him, Kara was arrested. The Gestapo, using a world-wide police stratagem, kept him in his apartment and remained with him. During the first day, three liaison women appeared who had appointments with Kara and came to his apartment to investigate when he failed to turn up. The next day, Cyna fell into the trap in exactly the same way.

The organization used all their resources to get Cyna and Kara out of prison, but failed. The Gestapo were evidently aware that they had caught someone important and took extraordinary precautions. About Cyna's fate, nothing was known to the organization. A "gryps" had arrived from jail which informed them that Kara had been horribly tortured, both his legs crushed to a pulp, his arms broken, and that he could no longer endure punishment. He asked for poison.

The leadership of the organization sent him two cyanide pills and a message: "You have been decorated with the order of Virtuti Militari. Cyanide enclosed. We will meet some time, Brother."

On the following day, we heard from the prison again. Kara had been buried in the courtyard of the jail. About Cyna, nothing further was known. Months later I learned that he was in the prison camp at Oswiecim and in comparatively good health.

Laskowa was able to return to her apartment with comparative safety, and resumed her former existence there. As a result of the arrests, the revelations under torture, and the certainty that many of us either were known to the Gestapo or might become so at any moment, it was decided to undertake a thoroughgoing reorganization of all the underground forces in the district. People were to be transferred, liaison and contact spots rearranged, the personnel of the units shifted, and everything necessary done to nullify the effects of the German success. The episode was one of the worst defeats we suffered in Cracow during 1941, but still its consequences were not half as damaging as the Gestapo imagined them to be.

LIBRARIES IN OLD POLAND

(*Continued from page* 9)

Learning met the same fate. Even the 34,000 volume reference library of Krzemieniec Lyceum was removed to Kiev along with the Lyceum's coin, mineral and botanical collections. Only a fraction of all these ever found their way back to Poland.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, when the foreign yoke became less heavy, the censorship of Polish books less rigorous, throughout the territories of the former Polish Commnwealth, often far beyond the later Polish frontiers of 1918-1939, a movement arose for the creation of a network of educational libraries intended for peasants and the poorer urban population.

The first was the Association of Educational Libraries (Towarzystwo Czyteln Ludowych) founded in 1880 in Poznan, and active in the Western part of Poland, the so-called Grand Duchy of Poznan, Pomorze and Silesia. Polish books were published and about 12,000 bought every year and distributed amongst the rural libraries, which although numerous had few books. In 1913 there were 1018 such libraries in Poznania and 342 in Pomorze.

In 1883 analogous work had been begun under Austrian domination by the Association of Popular Schools (Towarzystwo Szkoly Ludowej), with headquarters at Cracow. It had greater freedom in selecting books and in getting them published. The "Macierz Cieszynska" was active in Cieszyn Silesia under the direction of Henryk Sienkiewicz, the distinguished Polish author of "Quo Vadis."

When Poland regained her freedom in 1918, she set about rebuilding her shattered libraries. In twenty years she did wonders, but as so often in her history, September 1939 came to wreck what sacrifice and effort had built. This time the catastrophe dwarfed all previous calamities. For five years, Germany has been waging a total war on Polish culture: Polish books were among the first victims.

(*Continued from page* 4)

frontiers would be decided after the war at the Peace Conference. As for the Lublin Committee, he did not think it possible to give three-quarters of the seats in the future Polish Government to a party which in the first two Polish *Sejms* (Parliaments) elected under a democratic Constitution secured only 0.5 per cent. of the total representation. The fourth attempt failed and M. Mikolajczyk returned to London to place the new situation before his Cabinet colleagues.

After his return M. Mikolajczyk, in accordance with the decision of his Cabinet, sounded both the British and U.S. Governments regarding their attitude to Marshal Stalin's demands. He also sought the views of the British and the U. S. Governments on the future Polish-German frontier and asked whether they were prepared to guarantee the political independence and territorial integrity of Poland after the war.

The British Government made it clear to M. Mikolajczyk that in their opinion the future Polish-Soviet frontier should run roughly along the Curzon Line. As to the Polish-German frontier, the British Government, in agreement with the Soviet Government, were ready to agree that Poland should be given East Prussia (without Königsberg, which is to be a Soviet naval base), Danzig, parts of "Prussian" Pomerania, parts of Middle Silesia and the whole of Upper Silesia. The British Government also promised to use their influence in Moscow with a view to the formation of a new Polish Government which would be fairly representative of Polish political thought. Finally, the British Government declared their readiness to guarantee Polish independence jointly with the U.S.S.R.

The American reply was brought to M. Mikolajczyk by the U.S. Ambassador, Averell Harriman, who, on his way back to Moscow, handed the Polish Prime Minister, on November 23, an autograph letter from the President. Mr. Roosevelt explained that the U.S. Administration was constitutionally unable and traditionally unwilling to guarantee any particular country or frontier. It was ready, however, with the agreement of the Polish Government, to try for the last time to persuade Marshal Stalin that the areas of Lwow and Drohobycz should be left to Poland. As to the Polish-German frontier, it would not oppose any arrangement that Poland, the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain would reach in this respect. President Roosevelt also expressed his absolute conviction that post-war Poland would be a sovereign and independent country.

After his talk with Mr. Harriman, M. Mikolajczyk presented his colleagues with a draft of a note to be sent to Moscow which he hoped would be acceptable to all the interested Powers and would help to solve the protracted deadlock. M. Mikolajczyk's proposals were, however, rejected by the leaders of the Christian-Democratic and Socialist Parties, MM. Popiel and Kwapinski, and by M. Marian Seyda,* leader of a group of the National Party. They declared that the readiness of the Polish Government to make concessions and to come to terms with Russia had so far met with no tangible response or encouragement from Moscow. The U.S.S.R., they believed, had decided to annex the whole area in dispute, expel the Poles from it, and impose a puppet government on what would remain of Poland.

On November 24 M. Mikolajczyk had another talk with Mr. Harriman, after which he called off a Cabinet meeting which was to be held in the afternoon. He then drafted a letter of resignation to the President of the Republic and presented it the same afternoon. M. Raczkiewicz accepted his resignation. Thus failed the fifth attempt to find a way out of the Polish-Soviet deadlock.

* When M. Seyda joined M. Mikolajczyk's Cabinet in July 1943 the Executive Committee of the National Party dismissed M. Seyda and his supporters from the Party. The National Party was officially in opposition to M. Mikolajczyk's Government.

Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation Exemplified in the Ukrainian Institute of Arts and Sciences in Warsaw

(*Continued from page* 10)

be listed. Also very valuable are the monographs on Soviet policy toward the Ukrainians and their language by V. Sadovsky and R. Smal-Stotsky.

Of other works published by the Institute noteworthy are the studies devoted to the three men prominent in the history of Ukrainian culture: philosopher H. Skovoroda, linguist A. Potebnya and the national poet—Taras Shevchenko. The latter, written by the distinguished historian of Ukrainian literature, S. Smal-Stotsky, is only a part of the homage paid by the Institute to the greatest of all Ukrainian writers and spiritual leaders. The much more important part, and really the most significant cultural contribution of the Institute, is the monumental edition of all the works of Shevchenko in 16 volumes with scholarly introductions and commentaries.

This edition, undertaken in 1934 and almost completed before the outbreak of the war, was to honor the 75th anniversary of Shevchenko's death celebrated in 1936) and to fill the gap created in Ukrainian cultural life by the lack of a complete scholarly edition of his works. Several years earlier the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kiev had planned a similar edition and published some volumes. The publication was suppressed, however, by the Soviet Government in connection with one of the political purges in the Ukrainian Academy.

The edition of the Ukrainian Institute embraced all the poetry and novels of Shevchenko, his diary, letters, translations of his works into other languages; monographs on him as a writer and painter, a catalogue of his paintings and drawings, and an extensive bibliography of Shevchenkiana in all languages. Each volume was supplied with elaborate commentaries based on the latest research in the field and a synthetic introduction, likewise the product of thorough scholarly investigation. There were numerous portraits and reproductions of Shevchenko's paintings, while the publication was esthetically excellent.

How successful was the whole enterprise from every point of view may be judged from the following excerpts from a review published by a prominent Ukrainian scholar, Volodymyr Doroshenko, in the oldest and the most important Ukrainian scientific journal, the *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* of Lwow:

". . . Truly it is the most complete edition of Shevchenko's works ever published . . . it is such as Ukrainian society is in need of. In volume after volume, it brings several interesting studies which disclose the true aspect of Shevchenko and the real meaning of his works for the Ukrainian nation. This systematic all-sided elucidation of the poetry of Shevchenko, heretofore never attempted to such extent, must be considered a great achievement of the editors . . . The editor-in-chief, Professor Zaitsev, the well-known student of Shevchenko, has produced a very valuable edition, approaching scholarly perfection."

Equally laudatory were the opinions of other critics, Ukrainian as well as Polish and other. There is no doubt that through this great edition the Institute has made a truly magnificent contribution to Ukrainian life and culture. Some credit, however, for this contribution must be given also to the Polish Government which not only gave the editors its moral support, but provided them with funds sufficient to carry on their work.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

President Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz Broadcasts New Year Message to Poland

"We are leaving behind us the year 1944 — a year of great victories by the United Nations — a year which has added to the pages of the history of glorious Polish arms such names as Monte Cassino, Ancona, the Falaise Gap, Breda—a year over which the torch of burning Warsaw will shine, of this tragic pyre on which the heroism of a nation burned alone for sixty-three days.

"In the battles of the Home Army and the battles of our Armed Forces on the Western and Southern fronts we suffered considerable losses during that year. In the name of the nation I am paying great tribute to the boundless sacrifices, the unprecedented sacrifices of life and blood, in unequal battle of the soldiers of the Home Army, to the gallantry of our soldiers abroad, on land, in the air and on the sea.

"The peace loving nations of tortured Europe expected, with equal hope, while impatiently tearing at the chains of slavery, the realization of victory. We shall remember this year of 1944 as one during which the Allies entered an enslaved Europe that expected from the victorious armies: Liberation, justice, order, help in reconstruction and peace—that was expecting the word "Liberation" would actually mean fulfillment of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the four freedoms promised by the great leader of American Democracy. Winning of the war must at the same time be a winning of the peace, of a just peace on which the Christian civilization of Europe organized politically and economically and included into a world system of general security could revive and develop.

"Speaking of democracy, I wish to stress how right the Prime Minister of our great ally, Britain, was when he pointed to the misuse of its passwords. To us true democracy is the possibility of free organization of the nation according to the will of its majority, of the wish freely expressed without compulsion and pressure. True democracy is also the real freedom of the citizen unafraid of violence. It is for such a democracy that our whole nation has been turned into humiliated slaves in labor camps, prisoners, deportees, refugees—you all ought to have the possibility of returning to your homes, destroyed—but still yours—in order to be able to participate with the entire nation in the building of a new, better and lasting order, over the ruins of the old order, in accordance with divine rights and the rights of man based on those rights.

"You are carrying out our tasks in the war effort and our daily work—in this our whole life of refugees—our thoughts constantly go out to our homeland. Bonds with our homeland are a source of inspiration for all our efforts and work abroad. Without that unity with our people all our labors and aims would become worthless.

"In the sixth winter of war we turn to you with deepest feelings, full of devotion, admiration and appreciation. From a painful distance we share with you all your sufferings, your faith, your hopes. Those who recently came here from the homeland and on whom you have bestowed your confidence, have been given the highest offices in the service for Poland. They are the living expression of our unbreakable unity with you.

"At the turn of the year which most probably will be a decisive one in the history of our nation, I call on all Poles to rally around the rightful Government of the Polish Republic and not spare their strength in supporting the Government's effort. The motherland demands not one of us be missing in the fight and in harmonious work for our great aim.

"Poland is calling to us that we all — even if marching along roads which outwardly seem different—should be longing for the same goal: regaining independence. The Polish soldier is fulfilling his duties beyond all human endurance. I trust that his blood-sacrifice will not be in vain.

"I hope that God will give us strength to gain for Poland the place due her in the world. The present hour is difficult and decisive and only united can we reach our aims. I wish to all Poles that in this New Year they might achieve that unity for the good of our homeland."